3: Bouton--1 M-4 (no date) 1640 ST13 Callinago ST13
(ca. 1630)

Concerning the Savages Called Caribs

1. Religion

66 It is not possible to state the true number of the Caribs on Martinique, because they are continually and actively visiting and passing among those of Dominica and the other islands. Sometimes there are many Caribs here and sometimes fewer. It is true that fear and distrust of the French has caused many of them to leave this island, although we are not at war with them (unlike the French of Guadeloupe). No religion is recognized among them. Like the
775 Canadian Indians they have some recognition of the immortality of the soul, because for a few days they give to the souls of the dead clothes, food, and small belongings for their use. I believe that they do not trouble themselves with knowing what becomes of these souls; at least we have never been able to draw this information out of them. Possibly we should learn more if we were to live among them or they among us. At the present time they are greatly separated from us by inaccessible hills, so that we see them rarely and only when they come by sea to trade with the French.

776 They know by experience, at their cost, that there are spirits, and also the devil whom they call maboya, who sometimes beats them to death. The devil is not strong among them while they are with the French, but when they return they are cruelly tormented as punishment by the devil because of their visit. They also admit that the
● [189] sign of the cross is able to ward off the maboya. Most of them have an opening in their houses through which they say he enters and leaves. They do not render him any honor that I know, nor offer him sacrifice. They also recognize a god which they call chemin who does not treat them any better than the maboya does. It is necessary that someone
[191] among them have a special communication with this spirit because he predicts future events which they can only learn through him. For example, they day before we arrived an old Carib woman told a Frenchman that a great French ship would arrive the next day. What she said was true.

779 They say that there is a serpent in Dominica which has the power
825 of making itself large or small and that it has a ruby or gem of the same luster in the middle of its forehead. It takes this gem off when

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

501 person; it had a flat stern and served mainly for fishing. The rafts consisted of a series of logs, lashed to two transverse bars.

The pirogues and canoes seem to have been better finished than the *Arawak* canoes. Their sides were smoothed, polished, and often painted to represent Indians or maboya spirits. In historic times (and perhaps earlier) the pirogues had three masts and the canoes two, each supporting a sail made from cotton or from palm-leaf matting.[5] The paddles were spade-shaped, like those of the *Arawak;* that of the steersman was one-third longer than the rest (pl. 94).

484 [726] When on a raiding expedition *Carib* men traveled alone, taking only several women to prepare their food and to paint them with urucú. Otherwise men, women, and children traveled together. They carried their hammocks and kitchen utensils and landed at night to build temporary sleeping shelters.

487 789 The *Carib* were quite superstitious about traveling from island to island. While at sea they ate no crabs or lizards and drank no water, for fear of not being able to reach land. They were careful, too, not to spill fresh water into the sea, for they believed that this would cause storms and a swelling of the water. When passing a place where *Carib* had previously been drowned they threw overboard food so as to prevent the dead people, now living at the bottom of the sea, from causing them to capsize. Upon the appearance of a storm cloud they all blew into the air and waved their hands to drive the cloud away. When it did become stormy they chewed manioc bread and spit it into the sea and air to appease the spirits (omicou) who were causing the storm. If the wind were unfavorable, an old man would shoot an arrow at the prow of the canoe in order to make the canoe go straight as an arrow. The *Carib* never named or pointed at the land which they were approaching, for fear that they might not be able to get ashore.

[482 854] The people traveled by foot when on land, felling a log or using small canoes to cross streams. Burdens were carried in baskets on the back; babies were suspended in little hammocks strung around the mother's neck.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry and weaving.**—Next to canoes the outstanding *Carib* artifacts were baskets (pl. 94). The men made these from *Latania* leaves, which they split, scraped with mussel shells, and plaited together. Often the baskets had double walls, separated by a lining of leaves which made them watertight. Some, made large and pyramidal, were used on the back as carrying baskets. Others, which were small, rectangular, and provided with covers, served for jewel boxes. They were supplied with a cord to be attached to the gunwales of the canoes, so that the basket would not be lost

[5] Some sources say the pirogues had sprits as well as the usual square sails.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

824^X

2. Species which are believed to have medicinal [9], questionable medicinal, or magic virtues [4].

Doubtless all plant lore is on the wane, but the third class is the only one which presents serious difficulties with regard to obtaining information, at least so far as present day knowledge goes. This class of plant lore belongs now only to a few old men and women who regard such knowledge as their private property and are less willing to part with it, even for money, than a zealous housewife with her grandmother's cooking recipes.

III. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The authors have assembled the following notes on the uses of certain plants by the Island Caribs of Dominica following independent investigations in the fields of botany and ethnography. 114 122

Intensive botanical studies in Dominica were initiated by the senior author in 1937. The following year, aided by a grant from the Gray Herbarium, and again in 1940, as a Parker Fellow of Harvard University, he made return visits to continue this work. During the period of this field work brief visits to the Carib Reserve were made during which the majority of plants on which this publication is based were collected. A number of additional specimens of Carib economic plants also have been collected and forwarded from Dominica by the junior author.

Research by the junior author began in Dominica in 1930 and since 1938 the island has been his home. Visits to the Carib Reserve have been frequent, and the results of some of his ethnographical studies appear as citations in the bibliography of this work (52 - 62).

In this contribution the International Rules governing botanical nomenclature have been followed. Certain binomials which have appeared in basic West Indian floras are no longer accepted by botanists as valid names. These have been included in synonomy. The plant families follow the arrangement 128

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[9] Many of these are still used and so are enumerated in the pages that follow, but some apparently have been long forgotten. Among the latter is one given by DuTertre (18) under the Carib name, ribâlini. Rentoul (7) describes it as "a real reed (jone)" whose needle-thin roots thicken at intervals like the big beads of a rosary. One of these, when crushed, will bring about a "painless accouchement... more than one would injure the child". Ribâlini sounds as though it has some of the botanical characteristics of an Elsacharis but the authors know of no plant like it from Dominica. However, Rentoul also calls Rabdocalpha arundo a "jone" so it is difficult to know what kind of plant to look for. 278

[4] The rarer the plant the more marvelous are its properties as a charm among the Island Caribs. In fact certain species like the cercle de montagne are so rare that they appear to exist only in legend. [787]

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

HODGE. These voucher specimens of the plants used by the Dominica Caribs have been determined and deposited at the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University. Certain duplicates may also be found in the herbaria of the Bailey Hortorium, the New York Botanical Garden, the Smithsonian Institution, the University of Massachusetts, and the British Museum (N. H.). 128

IV. CATALOGUE OF THE KNOWN ECONOMIC PLANTS OF THE DOMINICA CARIBS

824A

CYATHEACEAE. TREE-FERN FAMILY.

Cyathea arborea (Linnaeus) J. E. Smith, Mem. Acad. Turin 5.: 417. 1793.

Fougère, Tree-Fern. — *amámei*.

A common tree-fern of the West Indies, Mexico and Venezuela. In Dominica this beautiful species is a weed of open wet slopes at lower and middle elevations where it often forms extensive colonies on abandoned cultivations.

The woody caudex is dried by the Caribs and used as a tinder. [372] Since the wood is peaty it burns readily for long periods and so is used to carry fire from place to place. The spores are said to [784] be used as a «charm», and are gathered by spreading a sheet beneath a fertile plant «on Midsummer Night».

Specimen citation: 6, 7, 2444, 2880.

PANDANACEAE. SCREW-PINE FAMILY.

Pandanus utilis Bory, Voy. 2: 260. 1804.

Screw-Pine. — *bárakus* («ungual»?).

A native of Madagascar, sometimes cultivated in the West Indies. This species has become naturalized in several coastal areas (e. g. Marigot, Hatton Garden, etc.) of Dominica.

The septa of the leaves are prepared in the same way as latanier (*Coccothrinax martinicensis*), and are used by the Caribs [285] for plaiting hats and baskets and occasionally as thatch for huts [342] or shelters.

Specimen citation: No herbarium material collected.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

The tubers of X. Atrovirens Koch & Bouché [824]
[262] and *X. violaceum* Schott constitute one of the staple starchy foods of Dominica while the young leaves of *X. brasiliense* (Desr.) Engl. are one of the prime ingredients of the famed « calalu » soup, a popular Creole dish.

[252] The Caribs cultivate tanias both as a food and green. When prepared as a green the « heart » (the unopened leaves) is boiled and eaten. Other authors (7) (15) mention a red-ribbed leaf variety, [278] [276] « chou poivré », whose juice the Caribs rubbed on themselves as a charm when going to war. Leaves of the red-ribbed variety, [278] known today as chou froidure (pronounced « chou fwedi »), are made into an infusion used against chills; and the same variety is an ingredient in another tea discussed under *Myrcia citrifolia*.

Specimen citation: 2466.

BROMELIACEAE. Pineapple Family.

Ananas comosus (Linnaeus) Merrill, Interpr. Rumph. Amb. 133. 1917.

Ananas sativus Schultes f. ex. R. & S. Syst. 7: 1283. 1830.

Ananas ananas Cockerell, Proc. U. S. Nat. Mus. 19: 776. 1897.

Ananas, Pineapple. — *idiosa* (« prickly »); *kurdasa* (fiber-yielding variety).

A native of Brazil, the pineapple has been widely cultivated for its fruits in the tropics and subtropics of both the New and the Old World. Strong white fibers, which are utilized for cloth in various parts of the world, are obtained from the leaves (22). The Barama River Caribs make an alcoholic drink from the grated pulp. First mention of the pineapple is by Peter Martyr who records its discovery by Columbus on Guadeloupe in 1493 (21).

[262] [275] [278] Several types are cultivated by the Caribs of Dominica. The fruit is eaten; a fermented beverage is made from the peeled skins steeped in water; while the fruit itself, as well as this drink, is considered to be good for urinary complaints. The small, [247] green, immature fruit or its juice is, on the other hand, well known to these aborigines as an abortive agent.

[283] La pite (Carib: *kurdasa*[16]), an important cultivated fiber plant

[16] Dr. L. B. Smith has determined that la pite of Dominica is not a species of *Bromelia* as was at first thought but actually a species of *Ananas*, most

13: Hodge & Taylor N. E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

824K

An acaulescent herb widely distributed in the West Indies and tropical South America. The plant is to be found in Dominica on open grassy slopes at lower elevations.

The tunicated bulbs are said to be eaten by the older generation presumably as we do those of onions. Also, a decoction made from the bulb is taken by women at the time of their menopause or to relieve painful or irregular menstruation. [262] [278 841]

Specimen citation: 3 (T), 3188.

Trimezia martinicensis (Jacquin) Herbert, Bot. Reg. 30. misc. 88. 1844.

Cipura martinicensis Kunth, Nov. Gen. & Sp. 1 (1816) 321.

Coco Chat.

This little yellow flower is to be found on grassy slopes throughout the West Indies and continental tropical America.

The corms of this species possess an acrid yellow juice. They are grated by the Carib and mixed with other unknown ingredients. This mixture is then kept by an individual on his person as a charm to ensure success if he gets into a fight. [789]

Specimen citation: 3304.

MUSACEAE. Banana Family.

Heliconia bihai Linnaeus Mant. 2: 211. 1771.

Bihai bihai Griggs in Bull. Torr. Bot. Club 31: 445. (1904). as to source of name only.

Wild Plantain. — Balisier. — *baliri*. (cf. *balíru*).

This species with bicolored bracts is probably to be found throughout the Lesser Antilles. In Dominica it occurs, often in colonies, on wet open slopes or along streambanks at middle and higher elevations.

Balisier leaves are used by the Caribs to cover temporary shelters in the woods (ajoupas), as waterproof lining material between the inner and outer layer of certain basket types (larouman paniers) in areas where cachibou (*Calathea lutea*) is not available, and as a « paper » substitute to wrap up fish, game, etc. Leaves of balisier are also utilized to wrap up, a) fish for roasting [342] [415 252]

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

the chief native foodstuffs. They are usually boiled, rarely roasted, but in either case always in the green condition (unripe). The «popote» (i. e. the inflorescence bud) of this species or of the banana is crushed and its juice is applied as a cure for ulcers. Like those of the balisiers (*Heliconia* spp.) the leaves of both plantains and bananas are much used as wrapping material.

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

Musa paradisiaca Linnaeus subsp. **sapientum** (Linnaeus) O. Kuntze, Rev. Gen. 2: 892. 1891.

Banana. — Figue. — *bakúku*.

The distribution of the banana is identical with that of the plantain.

Bananas are hardly as important as plantains in the Caribs' diet, but they are an important commercial export crop in Dominica. A drink was formerly made from the fruit but today it is generally eaten ripe out of hand.

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

ZINGIBERACEAE. Ginger Family.

Aframomum granum-paradisi (Hooker) K. Schumann in Engler, Pflanzenreich 20: 213. 1904.

Grains-of-Paradise Amomum. — Poivre Guinée.

This African plant was originally described from Sierra Leone. Various species of this fragrant-leaved genus have pungent seeds which, in the Middle Ages, were a popular substitute for pepper. Today they are still used medicinally and as a flavoring agent (22).

Caribs frequently cultivate poivre guinée near their dwellings for they utilize the seeds as a spice. The leaves, considered to be a charm, are rubbed on the body when bathing and are constituents of a ritual bath (described under *Ocimum micranthum*) for unlucky canoes. A similar bath is given to their hunting dogs. A tea is made from the leaves for stomach ache and the seeds are put into rum as a «chauffe» to excite dogs.

Specimen citation: 121 (T), 3204.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

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respectively to the head of a coulibri (a local hummingbird) and to topitambours (*Calathea allouia*); to l'envers blanc which has white tubers about two feet long. The tubers of l'envers rouge are redskinned and thick but not more than nine or ten inches long while those of l'envers caraïbe are up to three feet long but thin with the peculiarity of sometimes coiling upon themselves at the end. The leaves of all these varieties, although similar in form, vary considerably in size (3-10 inches long, 1.5-5 inches broad), and in the presence or absence of red coloring on the petioles, sheaths, and bases.

L'envers blanc and l'envers rouge are the only varieties cultivated for the alimentary value of their starch, and of these the former is more common. Arrowroot starch is preferred locally instead of milk (supposed to give worms!) as a food for young children, and even breast-fed infants are given arrowroot as a supplementary food from their second or third day of life.

The pounded tuber of any of the varieties, mixed with the black wax of the native stingless bee (*Melipona*), is applied to sores and infected wounds. This poultice was formerly used on wounds inflicted by poisoned arrows hence the plant's English name, arrowroot.

Although all varieties of l'envers are supposedly «good» for various accidents and circumstances of man's life (in the magical sense) the one known as l'envers caraïbe or l'envers tête chien [10] is considered especially efficacious as a powerful Carib charm, and is mentioned in several of the Indians' legends. This plant is said to have been «given» to the old time Caribs by the «Maitre Tête Chien» (a mythical, anthropomorphic chief of all tête chien snakes), who taught the Caribe how to use it. The crushed tuber rubbed on the body when bathing or a little of the starch (obtained by washing the grated tuber and allowing it to settle) held in the mouth is said to confer on the user power over other people.

Magical rites are connected both with its planting and with the digging of the plant, but as a charm it must not be observed,

[10] The variety takes its name from the local tête chien or boa (*Constrictor orophias*) because the tuber of the plant grows straight down into the ground for two or three feet and then often coils on itself in a manner reminiscent of the snake.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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tended, or dug by the women of the tribe. L'envers tête chien must be «paid»; consequently the modern Carib places a silver piece of money in the hole when planting it. When none of this plant is found growing wild the following supposed method of «planting» it is employed. The would-be «planter» goes to the woods and finds a tête chien snake. He severs the snake's head with one blow without the snake being aware of danger («were it to hiss but once it would be useless to proceed»). A hole is then dug and the head is buried without touching it by hand or removing it from the spot where it fell. A month or so later this charm (l'envers tête chien) is found on the spot where the head was buried. Before removing the charm, one must «pay it» (the snake's spirit?) by burning a little powdered tobacco.

Specimen citation: 7 (T).

PIPERACEAE. Pepper Family.

Peperomia pellucida (Linnaeus) Humboldt, Bonpland, & Kunth, Nov. Gen. 1: 64. 1815.

Z'Herbe Couresse.

An insignificant herb widely distributed in the American tropics, also in Africa and the East Indies. In Dominica the species grows most frequently upon moist walls or in crannies of wet rocks. It is eaten locally as a potherb.

Z'Herbe couresse is pounded by the Caribs and is then used as a poultice to relieve sore throat.

Specimen citation: 394, 411, 412.

Piper spp.

Doctor Bush. Malbruk[21], Mal L'Estomac.

All local species of this genus (including common *P. aequale* Vahl and *P. dilatatum* L. C. Rich.) are known to the natives of Dominica as doctor bush.

Because the Caribs consider these plants to be charms, the leaves are employed to rub the body when bathing or as ingre-

[21] *Grafferiedo latifolia* Triana is also known as «malbruk» in Dominica.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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dients in ritual baths. A ritual bath given to those suffering [788] from colds utilizes as ingredients the leaves of species of this genus plus those of three other unidentified plants, pomme coolie, [755] baksa, and fougère rouge (the latter apparently a fern). Hunting dogs are similarly rubbed when bathed in order to make them [231] « good » at the chase. For a further use of this species see *Ipomoea pes-caprae* and *Ocimum micranthum*.

Specimen citation: 27 (T), 110 (T), 426, 3252, 3257.

Pothomorphe peltata (Linnaeus) Miquel, Comm. Phyt. 37. 1840. Monkey's Hand. — Mal Tête.

A large herb of the American tropics, found in Dominica in damp places at lower and middle elevations.

The large suborbicular leaves of mal tête are heated by the [278] Caribs and applied to the head as a cure for headache.

Specimen citation: 144 (T), 427.

MORACEAE. Mulberry Family.

Cecropia peltata Linnaeus, Syst. Nat. ed. 10 1286. 1759. Trumpet-Tree, Trumpet-Wood (8). — Bois Canon.

A species of the West Indies and northern South America, to be found generally in moist forests and ravines at middle elevations.

The Island Caribs often fashion the trunks of bois canon into [501] light catamarans, known locally as « piperie ». The pounded [278] « heart » (the unopened leaves in their stipular sheaths), mixed with salt, is applied as a poultice to wounds and sores.

Specimen citation: 125 (T), 632, 3168, 3663.

Ficus spp.

Figuier. — *kudsi*.

A large tropical genus of trees including the widely cultivated fig. At least half a dozen species, certain of them large trees, occur in Dominica.

The larger spreading species of figuier (including *F. urbaniana* [776] Warb.) are considered by the Caribs to be the homes of the

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

PHYTOLACCACEAE. Pokeweed Family.

X 824 **Petiveria alliacea** Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 342. 1753.

Kudjuruk. — *émerudiuma, lemúru.*

A widespread weedy plant found in Florida, the West Indies, and continental tropical America. Although common in Dominica especially at lower elevations, this species is cultivated by the Caribs chiefly near their houses.

● [788] The Indians consider kudjuruk to be both a charm and a medicine. The plant is used, together with honteuse (*Mimosa pudica*) and sou marqué (*Cassia bicapsularis*) as an ingredient in [751] a ritual bath taken at the time of the new moon. It is also rubbed on the body as a protection against evil spells. Prepared as « tea » [278 847] it is considered an antidote to poisoning, as well as an aid to women in parturition. For further uses of kudjuruk in ritual baths see *Ipomoea pes-caprae* and *Ocimum micranthum.*

Specimen citation: 38C (T), 3194.

Phytolacca rivinoides Kunth & Bouché, Ind. Sem. Hort. Berol. 15. 1848.

Pokeweed. — Z'Oreilles Mulâtre. — *tarîkai* (« her/its »).

This pokeweed is to be found in continental tropical America as well as throughout the West Indies. In Dominica it is a familiar species in woodlands, clearings, and abandoned gardens chiefly at middle elevations.

[262 278] The young leaves are often boiled by the Carib as an edible green, which is also said to be « good » for dropsy.

Specimen citation: 26 (T), 1160.

Rivina humilis Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 121. 1753.

Rivina laevis Linnaeus, Mant. 1 41. (1767).

Demoiselle.

An herb of tropical America, frequent on waste land and fields in Dominica.

[278] Caribs make a medicinal « tea » from demoiselle.

Specimen citation: 3376.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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tan in water and to which crushed plants of *Hyptis atrorubens* are sometimes added. When the Carib hunts wild pig a potion is also made but from other plants — doctor bush (*Piper dilatatum*), malbruk (*Piper aequale*), and poivre marron (unidentified). These hunting potions supposedly insure success in the chase.

Specimen citation: 13 (T), 14 (T), 3163, 3409.

Stigmaphyllon puberum (L. C. Richard) A. Jussieu, Ann. Sci. Nat. ser. 2. 13: 289. 1840. 824X

Calabouli. — *kalábuli*.

A common vine of the West Indies and tropical continental America. In Dominica *kalábuli* occurs in thickets situated on the drier coastal areas.

The strong slender stems of this species are employed by the Caribs as binding material especially for tying thatching rods to the rafters in the construction of the native hut called *mwína*. [283]

Specimen citation: 18 (T), 3356.

POLYGALACEAE. Milkwort Family.

Polygala paniculata Linnaeus, Syst. ed. 10. 1154. 1759.

Marcelle Fragile, Esta Fragile.

An annual herb of the West Indies and continental tropical America. The species occurs commonly in Dominica on grassy slopes, fields, and cleared areas.

The aromatic roots of marcelle fragile are boiled and the water thus obtained is used by the Carib for bathing himself or his dugout canoe in order to undo « piai » (bad luck spells) placed on them. [789]

Specimen citation: 35 (T), 433, 3385.

DICHAPETALACEAE. Dichapetalum Family.

Tapura antillana Gleason, North Am. Flora 25: 382. 1924.

Bois Côte.

A large tree to be found in the mountain rain forests of Guadeloupe, Dominica, and Martinique.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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wound around the left wrist and forefinger. The spindle was set rotating by rolling its lower end (below the whorl) sharply down the thigh with the right hand. The thread thus spun was rolled onto the spindle-shank (above the guard) and the process recommenced. Cotton thread thus spun was used for weaving hammocks [39], head and leg bands [40], and more recently for mending clothes. Today cotton fiber is used principally for stuffing pillows and mattresses, and for calking canoes. However, a ritual bath, given to the mother after childbirth, utilized coton noir; it is discussed under *Ocimum micranthum*.

Specimen citation: 114 (T), 115 (T), 2541.

Hibiscus esculentus Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 696. 1753.
Abelmoschus esculentus Moench, Meth. 617. 1794.

Okra. — Gombo. — *inéku* (see also *Lonchocarpus* spp.).

A native of the Old World tropics, this species is widely cultivated. It was first recorded from the West Indies in 1750 (21). and is a familiar garden vegetable in Dominica.

Okra is either eaten as a vegetable or is used as an ingredient in a local soup known as « calalou ». However, a Carib hunter must not put any gombo in the pot with the game he cooks or his dogs and gun would lose their power of taking any more game of that sort. The leaves are used as shampoo in washing the hair to promote growth. A superstition also exists that eaten gombo tops will cause one to meet the persons who have been speaking ill of one.

Specimen citation: 136 (T).

Hibiscus tiliaceus Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 694. 1753.
Hibiscus elatus Swartz, Prodr. 102. 1788.
Pariti tiliaceum St. Hilaire, Fl. Bras. Merid. 1: 256. 1827.

Mahoe. — Maho (also spelled mahot, or mahaut) Doux. — *uainiu*, *uáiu*.

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[39] It is thought that the Island Caribs first introduced the cotton hammock into the Lesser Antilles from continental South America.

[40] Such articles were all listed by CHANCA (69) in his famous letter, and it is interesting to note that certain of these are still woven by the Caribs of Guiana.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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CACTACEAE. Cactus Family.

Opuntia dillenii (Ker-Gawl.) Haworth, Suppl. Pl. Succ. 79. 1819. Prickly Pear. — Raquette. — *báta, páta.*

This species of coastal sands and rocks is to be found on most shores bordering on the Caribbean, from Florida to northern South America.

Apparently on the wetter windward coast of Dominica raquette seldom sets fruit but elsewhere on the island the fruit is eaten and is used in the preparation of a culinary dye.

[278] The Caribs employ the fleshy joints in their treatment of enlarged or painful spleen. This treatment, called « haler la rate », 755 consists of local manipulation and massage with the hand and 824^x with leaves of *Ricinus communis*. A raquette joint the exact size of the right foot (the side opposite the location of the pain) is found, is deprived of its prickles so that it can be made to fit the foot and is then punctured all over and hung over a fire to dry and shrink. As the joint shrinks the spleen is supposed to shrink likewise and to assume its normal size.

Specimen citation: 3814.

THYMELAEACEAE. Mezereon Family.

Daphnopsis caribaea Grisebach, Fl. Br. W. I. 278. 1860. 824^x Maho (often spelled mahot, mahoe, or mahaut) Piment.

This medium-sized tree is a native of Puerto Rico and the Lesser Antilles. In Dominica it is common in thickets or woodland borders at lower and middle elevations.

[283] The rope and twine made from the tough fibrous bark are considered by the Carib inferior to that fashioned from mahot doux (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*). However maho piment rope is used more frequently than any other for hauling dugout canoes from the [396] interior forests to the coast. The fiber is also infrequently employed in calking canoes[45]. A tea is made from the leaves of maho [789] piment, and is used in a bath which will supposedly loosen any « spell » under which a person has been placed. Another tea is

[45] When so used it is mixed with gomme (« gum elemi », *Daeryodes excelsa*) boiled in shark oil.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

X 824

EBENACEAE. Ebony Family.

Diospyros ebenaster Retzius, Obs. Bot. fasc. 5 : 31. 1779-1791. Black Apple. — *babará.*

This species is found in the West Indies from Puerto Rico to Dominica but is also recorded from Mexico, Costa Rica, and Brazil; it has become naturalized in the Philippines. The writers suspect that what passes as *Diospyros ebenaster* in Dominica is not identical with the black sapote of Mexico.

[278 324] The fruits of *babará* (or sometimes chipped pieces of the bark) are crushed and placed in sacks or baskets which are then immersed in river-pools to drug the fish. The latter are stupefied and rise to the surface where they float bottom up as if dead. Fish so caught are, however, perfectly edible. Unlike another fish-drug, nivrage (*Clibadium sylvestre*), *babará* must be removed from the pool after use as its properties are not exhausted quickly.

Specimen citation : 3177, 3282.

GENTIANACEAE. Gentian Family.

Enicostema verticillatum (Linnaeus) Gilg in Engler & Prantl, Nat. Pfl. 4 : 67. 1895.

Slevogtia occidentalis Grisebach in De Candolle, Prodr. 9 : 65. 1845.

A perennial herb of the Old World Tropics and known in this hemisphere only in the Lesser Antilles where it is a common roadside weed.

[1789] Caribs utilize this plant in a ritual bath given to unbind spells.

Specimen citation : 783, 2679, 3028.

APOCYNACEAE. Dogbane Family.

Lochnera rosea (Linnaeus) Reichenbach, Consp. 134. 1828.
Catharanthus roseus Don, Gen. Syst. 4 : 95. 1838.
Vinca rosea Linnaeus, Syst. ed. 10. 944. 1759.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

tropical origin and was grown in the Americas in pre-Columbian time, its exact homeland is unknown. Columbus saw sweet potatoes for the first time in the West Indies where they were grown apparently by Carib and Arawak (69).

Many types of sweet potatoes are cultivated in the Carib Reserve, but the red watery variety, often erroneously termed « yam » in the United States, is most popular. From this form of sweet potato a sort of beer used to be made either with or without the addition of cassava. Thirty years ago sweet potatoes were much more extensively grown by the Caribs, and today seem to have been largely displaced by taniers (*Xanthosoma* spp.), dasheen (*Colocacia esculenta*), and yams (*Dioscorea* spp.).

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

Ipomoea pes-caprae (Linnaeus) Roth, Nov. Sp. 109. 1821.
Beach Morning-Glory. — Patate Bord la Mer. — *kaúkule.*

A creeping herbaceous vine, common as a pioneer halophyte on coastal sands throughout the Old and New World tropics.

The leaves of patate bord la mer are ingredients of several different ritual baths used by the Caribs for various purposes. One such bath utilizing this plant is described under *Ocimum micranthum*. Another bath effective for any sickness caused by piai utilizes, in addition to the leaves of patate bord la mer and the root of gingembre douleur (*Hedychium coronarium*), the leaves of the following plants:

acacia (no specimens seen but undoubtedly a local species of *Acacia* or *Mimosa*).
chardon béni (*Eryngium foetidum*).
figuier (*Ficus* sp.).
honteuse (*Mimosa pudica*).
kré kré trembleur (tree specimen not seen but definitely *Melastomaceae* and probably a *Miconia*, species of which are known in Dominica as kré kré).
kudjuruk (*Petiveria alliacea*).
larali (*Clusia plukenetii*).
mabizou (*Lantana camara*).
maho piment (*Daphnopsis caribaea*).
malbruk (*Piper* spp.).
mal l'estomac (*Piper* spp.).
pipe zandoli (unidentified but possibly *Aristolochia unguicida* DC.).
poirier blanc (*Tabebuia pallida*).
roi bois (*Fsittacanthus martinicensis*).
roku (*Bixa orellana*).
sou marque (*Cassia bicapsularis*).
'ti baume (*Hyptis atrorubens*).
wawet (an unidentified marine seaweed).
yam jaune (*Dioscorea cayenensis*).

Specimen citation: 810, 2960.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

FON BAZIN IS A

constituent of various ritual baths (i.e. connected with animalistic beliefs). A special bath is given eight or nine days after childbirth to the mother and another to the newborn infant. Plants used in the mother's bath are fon bazin, coton noir (*Gossypium citifolium*), roku (*Bixa orellana*), verveine (*Stachytarpheta* spp.), semen contra (*Chenopodium ambrosioides*), sou marque (*Cassia bicapsularis*), pistache (*Arachis hypogaea*), and bouton blanc (*Eglетes prostrata*). Plants used in the baby's bath include fon bazin, pachouli (? *Pogostemon* sp.), and graines z'yeux (unidentified). Another ritual bath for «unlucky» canoes is concocted from leaves of fon bazin, patate bord la mer (*Ipomoea pes-caprae*), maho piment (*Daphnopsis caribaea*), 'ti baume (*Hyptis atrorubens*), marigold (*Wedelia trilobata*), roku (*Bixa orellana*), malbruk (*Piper* spp.), lavandre (*Alpinia speciosa*), poivre Guinée (*Aframomum granum-paradisi*), etc. Finally a ritual bath for colds includes leaves of fon bazin, corossol (*Annona muricata*), bois cabrit (*Aegiphila martinicensis*), and kudjuruk (*Petiveria alliacea*).

Specimen citation : 3200, 3302.

SOLANACEAE. Nightshade Family.

Brunfelsia americana Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 191. 1753.

Rain-Tree. — Empoisonneur.

This small scrubby tree is found in woodlands of the West Indies from eastern Puerto Rico to Dominica. On the latter island it is most frequent at lower elevations on the windward Atlantic coast.

The small ripe berries of this species are used by the Carib as a poison.

Specimen citation : 3183, 3209.

Capsicum frutescens Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 189. 1753.

Capsicum baccatum Linnaeus, Mant. 1 : 47. 1767.

Red Pepper. — Piment. — *dti*[31] (w) ; *buémuš, ualéiri* (m).

[31] According to Loven (37) the Taino name for this species was *aji* from which has come the Spanish form *aji* (earlier *axi*) widely used in America today.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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X 824 A West Indian and continental tropical American tree to be found on Dominica in moist forests at middle elevations.

The wood of this species is elastic and tough and is utilized in the Antilles for general construction purposes (8). At the time of the Discovery the Tainos and Ciguayos of the West Indies painted themselves with the blue-black, fast stain obtained from genipa fruits. LOVEN (37) states that aborigines of the Guiana coast and the upper Orinoco also painted themselves with this dye, which is used commonly in the same way by lowland Indians throughout tropical South America.

[262] Genips are eaten by the Island Caribs. Formerly the dark fruit stain was used on solemn occasions by the Caribs to draw [302] decorative lines on the face (7). However, among these Indians the customary paint was the protective *biset* (*Bixa orellana*). The [278] fruit juice of genip also is smeared and rubbed on the body to cure diseases of the skin. The juicy pulp, along with water from stems of balisier (*Heliconia*), and the ashes from burnt leaf heart of roseau (*Gynerium*), forms a medicinal used locally against yaws.

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

Geophila herbacea (Jacquin) Schumann in Engl. & Prantl, Nat. Pflf. 4: 119. 1891.

Geophila reniformis Chamisso & Schlechtendal, Linnaea 4: 137. 1829.

Petit Cappi Tourterelle.

A creeping herb found in moist woodlands in the tropical regions of both hemispheres.

• [789] A ritual bath made from this plant is used by the Caribs to unbind « spells ».

Specimen citation: no specimens collected.

Morinda citrifolia Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 176. 1753.

Feuille Froide.

This low coastal tree is a native of Malaysia but is naturalized in the West Indies. In its homeland the species has many uses.

In Dominica feuille froide is employed by the Creole population as a general medicinal plant. The leaves are frequently wrapped around rheumatic joints.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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Tapura antillana Gleason	Dichapetalaceae
Terminalia catappa L.	Combretaceae
Theobroma cacao L.	Sterculiaceae
Xanthosoma atrovirens Koch & Bouché	Araceae
Xanthosoma brasiliense (Desf.) Engl.	Araceae
Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.	Araceae
Zea mays L.	Gramineae

Plant sources of Medicines or Charms

Aegiphila martinicensis Jacq.	Verbenaceae
Aframomum granum-paradisi (Hook.) K. Schum.	Zingiberaceae
Alpinia speciosa (Wendl.) K. Schum.	Zingiberaceae
Ambrosia hispida Pursh	Compositae
Ambrosia paniculata Michx.	Compositae
Anacardium occidentale L.	Anacardiaceae
Ananas comosus (L.) Merr.	Bromeliaceae
Annona muricata L.	Annonaceae
Annona reticulata L.	Annonaceae
Annona squamosa L.	Annonaceae
Anthurium palmatum (L.) Kth.	Araceae
Antirrhoea coccinea (Vahl) Urb.	Rubiaceae
Arachis hypogaea L.	Leguminosae
Asclepias curassavica L.	Asclepiadaceae
Begonia dominicalis A. DC.	Begoniaceae
Bidens pilosa L. var. radiata Sch. Bip.	Compositae
Bixa orellana L.	Bixaceae
Borreria laevis (Lam.) Griseb.	Rubiaceae
Bourreria succulenta Jacq.	Boraginaceae
Bursera simaruba (L.) Sarg.	Burseraceae
Byrsonima spicata (Cav.) DC.	Malphigiaceae
Caladium bicolor (Ait.) Vent.	Araceae
Capraria biflora L.	Scrophulariaceae
Capsicum frutescens L.	Solanaceae
Carica papaya L.	Caricaceae
Cassia alata L.	Leguminosae
Cassia bicapsularis L.	Leguminosae
Cassia hirsuta L.	Leguminosae
Cassia occidentalis L.	Leguminosae
Cecropia peltata L.	Moraceae
Chenopodium ambrosioides L.	Chenopodiaceae
Chiococca alba (L.) Hitchcock	Rubiaceae
Clerodendrum fragrans Vent. var. pleniflorum Schauer	Verbenaceae
Clusia plukenetii Urb.	Guttiferae
Cordia reticulata Vahl	Boraginaceae
Cornutia pyramidata L.	Verbenaceae
Cyathea arborea (L.) J. E. Sm.	Cyatheaceae
Dacryodes excelsa Vahl	Burseraceae
Daphnopsis caribaea Griseb.	Thymeliaceae

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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Desmodium axillare (Sw.) DC. var. genuinum Urb.	Leguminosae
Dianthera pectoralis Juss.	Acanthaceae
Dieffenbachia seguine (Jacq.) Schott	Araceae
Dioscorea sp.	Dioscoreaceae
Eglotes prostrata (Sw.) O. Ktze.	Compositae
Eleusine indica (L.) Gaertn.	Gramineae
Eleutherine bulbosa (Mill.) Urb.	Iridaceae
Enicostema verticillatum (L.) Gilg	Gentianaceae
Episcia melittifolia (L.) Mart.	Gesneriaceae
Eryngium foetidum L.	Umbelliferae
Erythrina corallodendron L. var. bicolor Krukoff	Leguminosae
Euphorbia hypericifolia L.	Euphorbiaceae
Exostemma sanctae-luciae (Kent.) J. Britten	Rubiaceae
Ficus spp.	Moraceae
Furcraea tuberosa Ait. f.	Amaryllidaceae
Genipa americana L.	Rubiaceae
Geophila herbacea (Jacq.) Schumann	Rubiaceae
Gossypium vitifolium Lam.	Malvaceae
Gynerium sagittatum (Aubl.) Beauv.	Gramineae
Hedychium coronarium Koen.	Zingiberaceae
Heliconia bihai L.	Musaceae
Heliconia caribaea Lam.	Musaceae
Hibiscus esculentus L.	Malvaceae
Hyptis atrorubens Poit.	Labiatae
Inga laurina (Sw.) Willd.	Leguminosae
Ipomoea pes-caprae (L.) Roth	Convolvulaceae
Ipomoea spp.	Convolvulaceae
Isotoma longiflora (L.) Presl	Lobeliaceae
Jatropha curcas L.	Euphorbiaceae
Jatropha gossypifolia L.	Euphorbiaceae
Lantana camara L.	Verbenaceae
Leonotis nepetaefolia (L.) R. Br.	Labiatae
Lepidagathis alopecuroidea (Vahl) R. Br.	Acanthaceae
Lochnera rosea (L.) Reich.	Apocynaceae
Manihot esculenta Crantz	Euphorbiaceae
Maranta arundinacea L.	Marantaceae
Mimosa pudica L.	Leguminosae
Momordica charantia L.	Cucurbitaceae
Monstera pertusa (L.) de Vriese	Araceae
Morinda citrifolia L.	Rubiaceae
Musa paradisiaca L.	Musaceae
Myrcia citrifolia (Aubl.) Urb.	Myrtaceae
Neurolaena lobata (L.) R. Br.	Compositae
Nicotiana tabacum L.	Solanaceae
Ocimum micranthum Willd.	Labiatae
Opuntia dillenii (Ker-Gawl) Haw.	Cactaceae
Oxandra laurifolia (Sw.) Rich.	Annonaceae
Pachystachys coccinea (Aubl.) Nees	Acanthaceae
Pancratium speciosum L. F.	Amaryllidaceae
Paspalum laxum Lam.	Graminaceae

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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Passiflora andersonii DC.	Passifloraceae
Passiflora foetida L.	Passifloraceae
Passiflora rubra L.	Passifloraceae
Peperomia pellucida (L.) H. B. K.	Piperaceae
Petiveria alliacea L.	Phytolaccaceae
Petrea kohautiana Presl	Verbenaceae
Phyllanthus spp.	Euphorbiaceae
Picrasma antillana Urb.	Simaroubaceae
Pimenta racemosa (Miller) L. W. Moore	Myrtaceae
Piper aequale Vahl	Piperaceae
Piper dilatatum L. C. Rich	Piperaceae
Pitcairnia gracilis Mez	Bromeliaceae
Pitcairnia spicata (Lam.) Mez var. sulphurea (Andrews) Mez	Bromeliaceae
Phytolacca rivinoides Kth. & Bouché	Phytolaccaceae
Piper spp.	Piperaceae
Pithecellobium jupunba (Willd.) Urb.	Leguminosae
Plantago major L.	Plantaginaceae
Polygala paniculata L.	Polygalaceae
Portulaca oleracea L.	Portulacaceae
Pothomorphe peltata (L.) Miq.	Piperaceae
Psidium guajava L.	Myrtaceae
Psittacanthus martinicensis (Presl.) Eichler	Loranthaceae
Rheedia lateriflora L.	Guttiferae
Richeria grandis Vahl	Euphorbiaceae
Ricinus communis L.	Euphorbiaceae
Rivina humilis L.	Phytolaccaceae
Rolandra fruticosa (L.) O. Ktze.	Compositae
Sambucus simpsoni Rehder	Caprifoliaceae
Sapindus saponaria L.	Sapindaceae
Scoparia dulcis L.	Scrophulariaceae
Smilax guianensis Vitm.	Liliaceae
Solanum torvum Sw.	Solanaceae
Spondias mombin L.	Anacardiaceae
Stachytarpheta cayennensis (L. C. Rich.) Vahl	Verbenaceae
Stachytarpheta jamaicensis (L.) Vahl	Verbenaceae
Tabebuia pallida (Lindl.) Miers	Bignoniaceae
Tabernaemontana citrifolia L.	Apocynaceae
Tournefortia bicolor Sw.	Boraginaceae
Trimesa martinicensis (Jacq.) Herb.	Iridaceae
Urena lobata L.	Malvaceae
Urena sinuata L.	Malvaceae
Vitex divaricata Sw.	Verbenaceae
Wedelia trilobata (L.) Hitchc.	Compositae
Xanthosoma sp.	Araceae
Zea mays L.	Gramineae

Plant sources of Thatch

Andropogon bicornis L.	Gramineae
Calathea lutea (Aubl.) G. F. W. Mey.	Marantaceae
Carludovica insignis Duchass.	Cyclanthaceae

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791 **MAGICIANS AND DIVINERS**--specialists in magic (e.g., wonder workers, exorcists, magicians, fakirs); specialists in divination (e.g., astrologers, oracles, diviners, fortune tellers, seers, mediums); characteristics of each (e.g., personality, sex, training, garb); sources of power; prerogatives and disabilities; organization; fees; etc. See also:

Magicians as entertainers 648
Witches, wizards, and sorcerers 134
Shamans and faith healers 736
Divination 787
Magic 789

3: Boutot--1 M-4 (no date) 1640 ST13 Callinago ST13
(ca. 1630)

Concerning the Savages Called Caribs

1. Religion

It is not possible to state the true number of the Caribs on Martinique, because they are continually and actively visiting and passing among those of Dominica and the other islands. Sometimes there are many Caribs here and sometimes fewer. It is true that fear and distrust of the French has caused many of them to leave this island, although we are not at war with them (unlike the French of Guadeloupe). No religion is recognized among them. Like the Canadian Indians they have some recognition of the immortality of the soul, because for a few days they give to the souls of the dead clothes, food, and small belongings for their use. I believe that they do not trouble themselves with knowing what becomes of these souls; at least we have never been able to draw this information out of them. Possibly we should learn more if we were to live among them or they among us. At the present time they are greatly separated from us by inaccessible hills, so that we see them rarely and only when they come by sea to trade with the French.

They know by experience, at their cost, that there are spirits, and also the devil whom they call maboya, who sometimes beats them to death. The devil is not strong among them while they are with the French, but when they return they are cruelly tormented as punishment by the devil because of their visit. They also admit that the sign of the cross is able to ward off the maboya. Most of them have an opening in their houses through which they say he enters and leaves. They do not render him any honor that I know, nor offer him sacrifice. They also recognize a god which they call chemin who does not treat them any better than the maboya does. It is necessary that someone among them have a special communication with this spirit because he predicts future events which they can only learn through him. For example, they day before we arrived an old Carib woman told a Frenchman that a great French ship would arrive the next day. What she said was true.

They say that there is a serpent in Dominica which has the power of making itself large or small and that it has a ruby or gem of the same luster in the middle of its forehead. It takes this gem off when

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793 **PRIESTHOOD**--specialists in organized religious activities (e.g., priests, priestesses, clergymen, rabbis, mullahs); status and means of support; selection, training, and consecration; hierarchical organization (e.g., chief priests, bishops, cardinals, popes); prerogatives and disabilities of priests; characteristics (e.g., sex, garb, paraphernalia); distinctive behavior (e.g., celibacy); activities (e.g., conducting ceremonies, preaching, teaching, comforting); special priestly personnel (e.g., acolytes, temple prostitutes); etc.

See also:

Celibacy 880
Theocratic forms of government 642
Military chaplains 700
Shamans 736
Theologians 818
Divinity schools 874

000 Spirit. The missionaries exhausted themselves in vain in the 17th
797 century in trying to inculcate in them the principles of Christianity and several were massacred on the island of St. Vincent, so that by the beginning of the 18th century they had given up converting them. The Caribs sometimes let themselves be baptized because for them it was an occasion for celebration and drinking, in addition to which the governors or the principal inhabitants of the French islands took pleasure in serving as their godparents and showered them with gifts; but hardly had they reached home then they forgot all the instruction they had received. "The reason for the small success of the missionaries in the conversion of the Caribs," says Father Dutertre, "is the unfortunate impression which the life of the Christians had made on them, strewn with cruelty and exhibiting habits more barbaric than
771 those of the islanders." Today the remaining Caribs are Catholics, like most of the blacks of Dominica and their chief has even placed a portrait of the Pope in a conspicuous place in his house. French
● [793] priests serve as their pastors and there existed at Salybia, the principal
[374] settlement of the territory, a little church which was blown down by a cyclone and which they are engaged in /143/ rebuilding. Next to it is the only school in the region, attended by young Caribs and young mestizos of both sexes.

191 The Caribs of Dominica are truly polyglot; they speak the French patois with the blacks, which is the same in this island as in Guadeloupe and Martinique; they know a few English words which they use in their relations with officials or various merchants; finally, among themselves, they still make use of a certain number of words of their ancestral language, a language which includes, as we have already seen, two idioms, one spoken by the men, the other by the women.

115 One of my colleagues, born and long since settled in Dominica but of a French family and having pursued his medical studies in France, Dr. Daniel Thally was kind enough to give me a Carib vocabulary which he collected in 1916 and 1918 from an old native woman, the daughter of Jean-Baptiste and Marie-Louise, named
197 Rosalie who was between 75 and 80 years old. This vocabulary,
192 carefully studied on my return to France with the learned collaboration of Dr. Rivet, allowed us to recover from it some words of the Carib vocabulary of the Antilles as it was in the time of /145/ Father Breton (1), who has left us a grammar and a dictionary of this

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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which point to Carib or African influence. Such terms as compère, commère, parrain, marraine (contracted to nenène in Creole), filleul, are rarely used (at least in address) in modern European speech; and cumbosse (relationship between men having had intercourse with the same woman), never! The words for child (sɨfɨ, ʾrɨ) are used in preference to those for son and daughter; for brother's child, sister's child, rather than those meaning nephew and niece; while seniority is always indicated in designating siblings, especially an eldest brother or sister (gʷɨfʷɛn, gʷɨ sɛw ɛn). Children sometimes address the latter as da or dada, a term they otherwise reserve for their maternal grandmother, and which means, among Creoles, *(children's)* nurse. Pap (or papa), mam (or mamɨ) are used to and of father and mother, pʳɛ (< père) and mɔpʳ being reserved for priests. Fʳɛ (< frère) and sɛʳ (< sœur) or sɛʳ are used in addressing elder siblings, fʳɛ and mɛʳ in addressing those with whom one made the First Communion together. The latter term also is used of and to a nun. Grandparents may be addressed as Pap N–, Mam N–; N– standing in most cases for their own given names, but in two recorded cases for that of their youngest children. Gʷɨpapa (< grandpapa) and gʷɨmamɨ or gɨgan are employed chiefly in reference. The latter term is applied to a woman's relationship to the child she put into the world (as a sage-femme) whether or not it be her own grandchild.

LIST OF KINSHIP TERMS

In the following list, pronominal prefixes, separated by a hyphen from the stem, are:

1st person: i-, in-, yɛ-, yɛn-; k-, ki- (man speaking)
ɛ-, ɛn-, nɨ-, nɨn-; w-, wɛ- (man or woman speaking)

2nd person: a-, o-, ay-, oy- (man speaking)
b-, p-, ba-, bo-, bɔ-; b-, bʷ- (man or woman speaking)

3rd person: l- (-i, -ɛ, -ɛ) (male class)
ɛ-, ɛ- (-ɛ, -ɛ) (non-male class)
nɨ-, nɨn- (-nɨ, -yɨ, -nɨ) (common plural)

Alternative forms of the same term are given under the same number. Those still remembered (1942) are in italics. Forms and interpretations not given by Breton are in parentheses. Plurals are indicated by pl. ɒ is a nonaspirate voiceless stop; ɸ is a voiceless bilabial spirant; q is a glottal g or k; ñ replaces Breton's digraph /gn/. The last sound did not exist in recent Carib at least, its place being taken by /y/ with nasalization of the preceding vowel. A hook (as ɛ) denotes a nasal vowel.